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THE GOLDEN GARMENTS OF THE GODS

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

THE ritual clothing of the images is an important and very old feature of the Mesopotamian cult[1] which has never been made the subject of a special investigation. The present study will deal with only one aspect of this subject matter: the use of "golden garments" as sacred vestments for the gods and, in Assyria, as *vestis regia*. Although the cuneiform texts refer rather cursorily and only in a few instances directly to such garments, I hope to show that enough indirect evidence is available to study with some success the nature of these garments and their technological background. In order to achieve this, the philologist has to take cognizance of the archeological material, which, happily enough, is especially abundant for the very period which yields most of the textual evidence. Apart from the words used to denote these "golden garments," we also have at our disposal their representations in the works of Mesopotamian art as well as actual remnants thereof. Under these circumstances the approach characterized by the phrase *Wörter und Sachen* can be fully utilized.

Direct references to garments of gold can be found only twice, in a date-formula preserved on a group of tablets excavated in Tell Asmar and in a passage of the well-known inscription of doubtful authenticity[2] of the Kassite king Agum-kakrime. The date-formula occurs on tablets from Eshnunna and has been published by Jacobsen in Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen, *The Gimil Sin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers in Tell Asmar* (= "OIP," Vol. XLIII [Chicago, 1940]), p. 195. It runs as follows: m u *te-di-qum* g u š = k i n ^{d}T i š p a k, "year (called): the *têdiqum* garment [cf. below] of gold of/for the god Tishpak." The inscription of Agum-kakrime is published in V *R*, Pl. 33 (K 4348 + 4149 + S 27) with an additional fragment (Rm 505) in R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Pl. XXXVI. It mentions golden garments in Column II, lines 28–35, in the following context: *4* g ú . u n [g u š k i n . s] a$_5$ ^{d}*Marduk ù* ^{d}*Ṣar-pa-ni-tum lu-ú ad-di-nu-ma lu-bu-uš-ta ra-bi-ta* g u š k i n . s a$_5$ ^{d}*Marduk ù Ṣar-pa-ni-tum lu-ú-lab-bi-šú-nu-ti-ma*, "I gave four talents of reddish gold for (the fabrication of) a garment for Marduk and Ṣarpānîtum and (thus) clad Marduk and Ṣarpānîtum in a gala-garment[3] of reddish gold."

Another pertinent reference is contained in a historical inscription of the Neo-Babylonian period. The stela of Nabonidus in the Museum in Istanbul (cf. Langdon-Zehnpfund in "VAB," IV, 35 ff. and 270 ff.) reports in a passage, which is partly broken, on the dedication of costly garments (called again *têdiqu*) for Ea and the divine couple, Nabû and Tašmêtum. Column VIII:x+1–x+15 reads: "[. . .] godhead [. . .] the surface (*zîmu*) of which was made shining with [pre]cious stones

[1] Cf., e.g., Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, pp. 117 f., and my remarks in *The Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection* ("AOS," XXXII, [Baltimore, 1949]), 13 f., and in the still unpublished *The Material Culture of the Neo-Babylonian Period* (index *sub lubuštu*), where the pertinent material from the temple archives of the Neo-Babylonian period is discussed *in extenso*.

[2] Doubt in the authenticity of this document has been expressed by Landsberger in *MAOG*, IV, 312.

[3] For this meaning of *rabû* cf., e.g., *lubšu rabû* and *maialu rabû* in Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Pl. XXVIII, ll. 38 and 41.

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and gold, I arranged magnificently for Ea . . . Nabû . . . Tašmêtum as a *têdiqu* garment (befitting) their great godhead." Though the context is broken, it can be taken to indicate that the *têdiqu* (cf. below) for the clothing of these images was decorated with beads of precious stones and with gold.

None of the quoted passages indicates in any way the technique or specific form in which the gold was used in connection with the mentioned garments. The tablets originating in the offices of the temple administrations in the Neo-Babylonian period, however, contain a number of references which, as will be shown presently, shed light on the nature of these garments of gold. See first the text Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 133:1–6 (Kandalānu, 17th year): *561 a-a-ri 560 te-en-ši-ia napḫar* (written PAP) *1121 a-a-ri u te-en-ši-ia* $8\frac{5}{6}$ m a . n a *2* g í n g u š k i n *a-di-i* TÚG *mu-ṣip-ti* k i . l á . b i *-šú-nu*, "561 (pieces of) *aiaru*, 560 (pieces of) *tenšia*, together 1121 (pieces of) *aiaru* and *tenšia*, their weight—together with the (pertinent) *muṣîptu*-garment—is 8 minas 52 shekels of gold." Another text in the same collection, "GCCI," II, 367:1–5 (Kandalānu, 9th year), has the following figures: "468 *a-a-r*[*i* of gold], 469 *te-en-ši-i*[*á* of go]ld, (together) 937 *aiaru* and *tenšia*, their weight—[together with] their *muṣîptu*-garment—is [. . .] minas 13 shekels of gold." These two passages disclose that the garment termed *muṣîptu* (cf. below) was provided with a large number of golden objects, ornaments most probably, which were denoted respectively by *aiaru* and *tenšia*.

The meaning of the first term has been established as "*Blüte*," i.e., petaled flower (cf. R. C. Thompson, *Herbal*, pp. 56 f.; Bauer-Landsberger, *ZA*, XXXVII, 93) and by B. Meissner in *MAOG*, XII, Nos. 1–2, 54 f., as (golden) ornament in the form of a rosette.[4] More difficult is the second word, which is listed in Bezold, *Glossar*, p. 294*a*, with the translation "(leinener ev. golddurchwirkter) Überwurf," while Meissner, *MAOG*, XII, Nos. 1–2, 55, rendered *tenšia* with "Kopfband" but left the word without translation in his article, "Babylonische Warenpreise" ("APAW," Phil. Hist. Abt., 1936/1), p. 39, n. 6. From the contexts given above, one is bound to assume that the word *tenšia* can refer only to a golden ornament comparable with the rosette, together with which it is always mentioned. This observation takes *tenšia* out of the context into which Bezold's *Glossar* has placed it, that is, it divorces it from *tumšu*, *tunšu*, *tunzu*, *tuzzu*, *tūzu*. These words can be traced back to two sources: (*a*) the garment t ú g . t u š e (written: t ú g . A.DU) = *tu-un-šu* (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 829; BM. 81–4–28:rev. 33), referring probably to the cloaklike wrap manufactured by the craftsman *e-piš tu-un-ši* ("CT," XIV, Pl. 45 rev. II:40)[5] and sometimes men-

[4] In this study Meissner neglected to set aside the references for a specific type of "golden rosette," which is termed *aiar pâni*, "front rosette." This refers to a type of decoration of a miter, etc., or also to a headband, both frequently illustrated on Neo-Assyrian reliefs: the front part of the tiara is decorated by a large (golden) rosette, or such a rosette is held above the forehead of a person by means of a fillet. Divine beings and kings alone are represented with this "front rosette." Such an *aiar pâni* is mentioned, e.g., in Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 1081:1–2: "2 shekels of gold given to E. and M. *a-na* [*bat-qa*] *šá a-a-ri pa-ni* [. . .] i.e., for the [repair] of the front rosette of [. . .]"; *Nbn*, 1095:7: *1en a-a-*[*ri*] *pa-ni*(!); Contenau, "TCL," XII, 39:5: *2 a-a-ri pa-ni šá* dG a š a n . m e š . Note, furthermore, Dougherty, "YOS," VI, 211:2–3, 216:13–14, and Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 1097:1–3, with the following context: *32 a-a-ri ina lìb-bi 4* g a l . m e š *1en gu-un-gu-pi-in-ni 1en šá muḫḫi pa-ni*, "32 rosettes, among them (are): 4 large ones, one with bosses(?) [for *gungupinnu* cf. Zimmern, *ZA* XXXIV, 197; Holma, *Körperteile*, p. 142, n. 4; Ebeling, "VAB," II, 1411], one for the forehead." For further details concerning this use of rosettes of gold cf. my *Material Culture*, index *sub aiar pâni* and *sanḫu*.

[5] The name of this craftsman recurs in the commentary series ḪAR . g u d = *im-ru-u* = *bal-lu* II *R*, Pl. 51, No. 3, plus V *R*, Pl. 32, No. 3 in the entry l ú . k u š . (ú) . TIR:TIR . t a g . g a = *e-piš tu-uš-ši* (cf. also Langdon in *RA*, XXXI, 110, n. 1) = *ḫup-pu-u*

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tioned in Middle- ("UM," II/2, 121:11, 14, 142:11, etc.) and Neo-Babylonian texts (cf. my *Material Culture*, index *sub voce*); (*b*) to the garment *tu-u-zu* which corresponds in the text L. Matouš, *LTBA*, I, 86, cols. 18–16:27, to the Sumerian [t ú g . x] . l u g a l . l á . g é and is explained as ditto (= *qad-la-lu-u*) *ša šarri* "linen wrap of the king."[6]

Before studying the possibility of establishing the characteristic form of the golden ornament called *tenšia*, more references for the occurrence of this word have to be adduced. The text Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 591:2–3 (Nabonidus, 12th year), records that gold was given to goldsmiths: "for the repair (*a-na bat-qa*, l. 2) of *a-a-ri* [*t*]*e*(!)*-en-ši-i ta-ri-ka-tum* [*p*]*i*(!)*-šá-an-nu šá* ^{d}G a š a n *Sip-par*[7] the rosettes and *tenšia*—the *tarikatum*[8]—(from) the *pišannu* garment [cf. below] of the 'Lady of Sippar.' " See, furthermore, the Neo-Babylonian letter Harper, *ABL*, 498:10–14 (R. Pfeiffer, *State Letters*, No. 252; L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, I, 348 f.), in which a goldsmith reports: "12 minas of gold . . . are at my disposal, I have made (them) into rosettes and *tenšû* (*a-na a-a-ru ù te-en-šu-ú*) for Ṣarpānîtum."

The connection between these golden ornaments and the garments mentioned in the quoted passages (*muṣîptum*, *pišannu*) is illustrated by the following text dealing with the same subject matter. Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 69:1–9 (Nabopolassar, 8th year) reads: "700+x ro[settes of gold, y *te-e*]*n-ši-*[*ia*] of gold, their weight[9]—including the *muṣîptu*-garment—is 23 minas *šá a-na muḫḫi* ^{d}*N*[*a-n*]*a-a il-lu-ú*, i.e., which are (to be) mounted upon (the garment of the image of) Nanā, 172 rosettes of gold and *ten-š*[*i-ia*] of gold in addition (DIRIG^{a-tu}), 1½ minas (is) their weight, *a-na ḫu-ub-b*[*i*]*-i šu-ru-du-nu*, i.e., were taken down for cleaning purposes."[10]

These passages demonstrate that the golden ornaments attached to the garments could be taken down (*šûrudu* as against *elû*) for cleaning or for repair. From the fact that the few extant examples of such ornaments are provided with four small holes, or with small metal rings on their back (cf. below, p. 188), it can be concluded that they were sewed onto the fabric. The cleaning of such ornaments is also mentioned in Dougherty, "YOS," VI, 117:4–8 (Nabonidus, 8th year): "706 rosettes of gold, 706 *ten-ši-i* of gold from the *kusîtu* garment [cf. below] of Nanā, are at the disposal of the goldsmith S. *a-na mi-si-e*, i.e. for cleaning."[11]

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together with such craftsmen as the weaver, bowmaker, manufacturer of leather objects, basket-weaver, and sackmaker. The name of profession *ḫuppû* (explaining the ḪAR . r a = *ḫubullu* term "manufacturer of *tuššu*") recurs also in von Soden, "LTBA," II, No. 1, III:18, between that for the leather worker and the weaver, but it remains a crux because these passages do not fit the interpretation given by Goetze in *JCS*, I, 182, n. 42. Stamm, "MVAeG," XLIV, 270, leaves the word *ḫuppû* without translation.

[6] The preceding line reads [t ú g . x] . d i n g i r . r a . g é = *na-al-ba-šú*, "[. . . -dress] of the god(s) = clothing," which is explained by *qad-la-lu-u šá ili*, "linen-wrap of a deity." It is worthy of note that the Akk. *nalbašu* which appears, e.g., in Ebeling, "KAR," 476:14 and 17 as referring to the dress of the king, is considered here to require an explanation. This may be taken as indicating that *nalbašu* was actually a technical term denoting a dress for cultic and royal use. Cf. below, p. 188, n. 26, for a possible explanation of this semantic situation. Cf. also the "group-vocabulary" e r i m . ḫ u š = *anantu*, 5th tabl. ("CT," Vol. XIX, Pl. 13 K 7331: rev III:1–3 and the dupl. "TCL," VI, Pls. 35 f.) which mentions in one and the same section: *tu-ú-zu*, *ga-da-lu-u* and *ga-da-ma-ḫu*.

[7] The text is poorly copied; read *ina* IGI-*šú-nu* in l. 5.

[8] For the discussion of this difficult *terminus technicus*, I have to refer again to my *Material Culture*, index *sub tarikātum*.

[9] Text: k i . l á . b i . e . n e . n e . Similar "phonetic" writings of Sumerian words recur not too rarely in Neo-Babylonian administrative documents. Cf., e.g., g i š . b a . a r ("YOS," III, 147:27), m u . ú . s a g . l u g a l ("BE," VIII/1 77:1), i m . m a r . d a (for: t u) ("BIN," I, 127:10), s a g . d i (for: d u) (*Nbk*, 284:4), e š e m e n written KI.E.NE.DÈ (for: KI.E.NE.DI) ("BRM," II, 22:7), etc.

[10] For *ḫâbu* II, "to clean," cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.*, p. 89, n. 2.

[11] The verb *mesû* cannot refer, in this context, to the "washing" (Sum. l u ḫ) of metals—that is, to

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While all these passages refer to decorated garments utilizing two types of ornaments: rosettes and *tenšia*, the next passage to be discussed shows the rosette in combination with an ornament termed *nipḫu*. Cf. the following line (l. 386) of Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la VIII^e campagne de Sargon* ("TCL," Vol. III): *9 lu-ba-ri-e <ta>-al-bul-ti ilūti^ti-šu ša ni-ip-ḫi* guškin *ia-ar* guškin *ši-biṭ-su-nu i-na mu-ur-di-e ṣu-ub-bu-tu*, "9 garments of his divine attire, whose *šibṭu* were trimmed(?) with golden *nipḫu* and golden rosettes in rows(?)."

This passage contains a number of difficult words: *šibṭu*, *murdû*, and *ṣubbutu*. The first has been discussed by Ungnad in his *Glossar zu NRV I*, p. 146, and translated with "Klöppelung" (and "von den Spitzen goldener Blüten," referring to the phrase just quoted. Evidence collected from the Neo-Babylonian administrative documents and discussed *in extenso* in my *Material Culture* (index *sub voce*) proves that the items of divine attire termed, respectively, *šibṭu* and *erru*[12] are, as a rule, enumerated immediately before (*šibṭu*) or after (*erru*) the bandeau or ribbon called *kulūlu* (cf., for the latter, K. F. Mueller, "MVAeG," XLI/3, p. 34; Weidhaas, *ZA*, XLV, 121, n. 13). This fact, on the one hand, and the indications given by the light weight reported for the *šibṭu* (15–30 shekels), on the other hand, suggest that this term refers to a narrow fillet or the like, woven of wool in various colors (as the Neo-Babylonian texts indicate). Such a ribbon was used as a headband and, often, as a border decoration on the monochrome fabrics of Mesopotamia. In the present context *šibṭu* seems to denote such a border decorated with golden ornaments, in fact, rosettes and disks.[13] The term *murdû* remains a *hapax* (cf. Bezold, *Glossar*, p. 180*b*). For *ṣubbutu* in the proposed sense of "bordered" (cf. German *einfassen*), I may refer to the Assyrian letter Harper, *ABL*, 1203:4–5, describing a pitcher for pouring water for washing (*narmaktu*) with the words *ša* guškin *ṣab-bu-ta-tu-u-nu*, "which is edged with gold."

By mentioning rosettes and disks, i.e., *aiaru* and *nipḫu*, as decoration of a patterned border-strip sewed onto a monochrome garment, the discussed passage sheds some light on the nature of the objects denoted by *tenšia*. Many of the representations of decorated garments on Assyrian reliefs show rosettes alternating with disks, but often also with small square cuts. These squares are either blank or have simple geometric designs. In a few instances a wall with towers is represented (cf. below, p. 186). It is pos-

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their refining—but necessarily to a process of cleaning or repolishing to which these golden ornaments were periodically subjected. In support of this interpretation of *mesû* is the Boğazköy-passage, "KBo," I, 10:12: *im-te-si di-ma-a-ti-ia*, "he wiped off my tears," when compared with the analogous verse from the epic known as "Nergal and Ereshkigal" (cf. Jensen, "KB," VI/1, p. 78, l. 20): *di-im-ta-ša i-ka-ap-pa-ar*," "he wiped off her tears."

This meaning of *mesû* is also attested in the XIXth tablet of the series ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu* (V *R*, Pl. 15 rev. I:2) through the translation of tûg.igi.dû.ûr.ra, "fabric, the surface (of which) is scratched with reed peg(s)" by *mi-su-ú*, i.e., "roughened."

The word *mêsu*, which appears as a synonymous expression for *ḫurāṣu*, "gold," in von Soden, "LTBA," II, No. 1, XV:19 (also "CT," Vol. XVIII, Pl. 19, K 4377:2) cannot be connected (against Ungnad, *Orientalia*, N.S., IV, 296 ff.) with the verb *mesû*, but corresponds to Sumerian me.a discussed recently by Poebel, *Miscellaneous Studies* ("AS," Vol. XIV [Chicago, 1948]), p. 83, n. q. A precious metal called *mêsu* appears, however, in two Neo-Babylonian texts: Ungnad, "VS," VI, 191:20 (= San Nicolò-Ungnad, "NRV," Vol. I, No. 797), and Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 25:1 (a goldsmith receives 38 shekels of *mi-[e]-[s]u* for the fabrication of golden objects).

[12] Cf. Bezold, *Glossar*, p. 63*a*: *eru*, "ein Kleid"; but the spelling *ir-ri* (e.g., in Strassmaier, *Camb*, 277:11) indicates the reading *erru* (to *erēru*, "to bind"). Cf. also the equation *e-ri-ru* = *lu-ba-ru* (V *R*, Pl. 28:35c/d = "CT," Vol. XVIII, Pl. 11, K 169:1), probably referring to the same word.

[13] For this meaning of *nipḫu*, cf. Thureau-Dangin in *RT*, XXXII, 42 ff., and Weidner, *AfO*, IX, 41 ("Schmuckscheiben").

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sible that some, or even all, of the now blank squares had been provided with various designs which were omitted by the artist-mason on account of their small size or were painted on the reliefs. The term *tenšia* could refer to the characteristic form of these bracteates but also to the ornaments or representations appearpearing on them, even to their function. Since no etymological connection for this word (perhaps of Aramaic origin: *tenšia*, Akkadianized *tenšû/ê*) can be established, the problem of its interpretation has to remain without solution.

Still, garments decorated with narrow rows of small and thin golden bracteates in various forms (cf. presently) and sizes in appliqué work could certainly be termed "garments of gold," exactly as the garments of the Classical period were termed "golden" when decorated with embroidery of gold thread or using such thread in the warp and/or the weft.

The sewing-on of the golden ornaments is referred to in the text Dougherty, "GCCI," I, 59:6–8 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 22d year), which reports on payments made to the goldsmiths *šá muḫḫi ḫa-te-e* [*šá*] *a-a-ri u te-en-še-e*, "who are in charge of the *ḫatû* of the rosettes and *tenšê*." The same verb seems to recur in the text Ungnad, "VS," VI, 1:4 (Kandalānu, 12th year) (= San Nicolò-Ungnad, "NRV," Vol. I, No. 722), where I read that gold was given *a-na* [*ḫa*]*-ti šá a-a-ri šá* ^{d}A-a, "for the [*ḫa*]*tû* of the rosettes for/of Aia." Theoretically, the verb could refer either to the fabrication (by punching or casting)[14] of the ornaments themselves or to their application to the fabric. In favor of the latter alternative, I may adduce the entry of the XIXth tablet of the series ḪAR . r a = *ḫubullu* (Sm 13 published in V *R*, Pl. 15, 29 *c/d*), which equates t ú g . d u l . d u l, "covered garment," with *ḫa-tu-ú*.

Not only fabrics but also leather and leather-coated objects seem to have been decorated in this way. Cf. the text Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 1097, mentioning in lines 4–8 four items (*bâbu*) of, respectively, 274, 256, 269, and 261 rosettes[15] destined for the leather worker (l ú . a š g a b). Another leather worker received, according to the text Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 276:2, objects described as *pi-ir-ḫi a*(!)*-š*[*á*]*-gu* (24 in number). These recur in the text "GCCI," II, 210:1–4 in the following context: "12½ shekels of silver for one large rosette (*1*^{en} *a-a-ri rabû*^{ú}) and *pi-ir-ḫi a-šá-gi*." In medical texts (cf., e.g., R. C. Thompson, *AJSL*, LIII, 221, n. 27) *pirḫi ašagi* is mentioned as denoting "pods of the lycium plant," but in the quoted context they are clearly referred to as small silver ornaments in the likeness of the *pirḫu* (shoot or bud) of a plant (the box-thorn[?]).

Apart from the golden ornaments denoted by *aiaru* ("rosette"), *niphu* ("disk"), and *tenšia* ("square[?]"), the Neo-Babylonian text material refers also to various other ornaments of a similar nature and used for exactly the same purpose. In Clay, "BIN," II, 125:1–7 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 32d year) we find: "18¾ shekels of gold (to wit) 61 golden stars, (m u l . g u š k i n) which are damaged (*šá bat-qu*) from the *kusîtu* garment of the 'Lady of Uruk' are at the disposal of N. and A., the goldsmiths, for repair work on the golden stars (*a-na bat-qu šá* m u l . g u š k i n . m e)." And Dougherty, "YOS," VI, 117:1–3 (cf. above) has again such stars in connection with a new name

[14] For molds in which such ornaments could have been cast cf. simply D. Opitz, *Altorientalische Gussformen* (in *AfO*, Beiheft I [Berlin, 1933], pp. 179 ff.), Pls. VI, Nos. 3, 4, 6; VII, Nos. 7 8, 22; IX, No. 22; X, No. 26.

[15] The adjective *ḫu-bu-šu* describes the rosettes of the first entry. The word could refer to damages (cf. Kraus, "MVAeG," XL/2, p. 96) on these objects or to a special feature of them. *Non liquet.*

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for a golden ornament: "703 golden stars (and) 688 *ḫa-še-e* from the *kusîtu* garment of the 'Lady of Uruk.' " As to the term *ḫašû*, it should be mentioned that the so-called "treasure-list" of Nippur (Legrain, "UM," XIII, 80) contains a reference to this word in line 24: *8 in-ṣa-ab-ti ḫa-še-e* guškin, i.e., "8 golden (ear)rings (decorated with) *ḫašû*." *Ḫašû* is also the name of a plant, the thyme, as has been shown (for etymological reasons and because of its use for medical and seasoning purposes) by H. Holma, *Körperteile*, page 88, note 6. *Ḫašû*, furthermore, is attested in the meaning "lungs" (of human beings and animals), cf. recently Goetze in "YOS," X, 4. For the use of *ḫašû* as designation of a golden ornament we have to assume a third homonymous expression.

See, furthermore, the text Clay, "BIN," II, 126:1–10 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 19th year) with another group of terms of the same order: "37¾ shekels (to wit): 2 *ik(?)*-[x-y] of gold, 2 rings (ḫar) of gold, 2 *qudāšu*-rings, 3 *anṣabtu*-rings (*an-ṣa-ba-a-ta*) which came off/down from the *pišannu* garment (šá(!) *ul-tu* ^{qada}*pi-šá-an-ni . . . ú-ri-du-nu*) of Nanā, are at the disposal of the goldsmiths . . . for repair (*a-na bat-qu*)."[16] The names of these two kinds of rings (*qudāšu* and *a/inṣabtu*) were discussed by Meissner in *OLZ*, 1922, Cols. 244 f., who failed to notice the novelty of their use as decoration for the garments of the gods. This use, however, is well attested in Mesopotamian iconography (cf. Figs. 16, 17, 26). Reference might even be made to an Ur III text published by G. Boson in *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere degli archivi di Drehem e di Djoha, dell' ultima dinastia di Ur* (Milano, 1936), which mentions large numbers of golden rings, each weighing ½ shekel. Cf. Boson, 352:1–3:165 ḫar.guškin ḪI.DA gal.gal 165 ḫar.guškin ḪI.DA usa.bi ki.lá.bi ½ gín, "165 large . . . rings of gold, 165 second-grade . . . rings of gold, their (individual) weight ½ shekel." This passage could be interpreted as documenting the use of the appliqué technique for the decoration of garments in the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

Note also the following passage from the above-quoted tablet, Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 133:7–9, which documents golden bracteates in the form of animals: "70 large UR.GU.LA^{meš} (and) 25 small UR.GU.LA^{meš}, their (combined) weight being 3 minas 19 shekels of gold." The logogram UR.GU.LA (interpreted by Meissner, *Warenpreise*, p. 19, as *kalab Gu-la*, "dog of Gula") is listed and explained in the commentary series ḪAR.gud = *im-ru-u* = *bal-lu* (cf. "CT," Vol. XIX, Pl. IX, K 8660: 13 + Meek, *RA*, XVII, 149, K 5455*a*:10) in two entries: giš.ur.gu.la (wooden ur.gu.la) = šu-*u* (Akk.: *urgulû*), as ^{d}La-ta-ra-ak, the name of a rarely found solar deity and of a star or constellation (cf. Langdon, *ZA*, XXXVI, 211, n. 2). The next line has: [giš].^{d}GÌR.gal = *ur-gu-lu-ú*, which is explained by *ur-idim-*[*mu*], a learned loanword from Sumerian meaning "ferocious animal." This indicates that the term UR.GU.LA originally denoted a wooden likeness of a lion represented in mad fury. The small golden UR.GU.LA are therefore ornaments showing such a lion and destined to be sewed onto garments, etc. (cf. p. 188).

Attention should finally be called to the fact that the figures in the Neo-Babylonian texts differ sometimes by one when enumerating the numbers of rosettes and other ornaments respectively. Cf., e.g., "GCCI," II, 367, with 468 rosettes as against 469 *tenšia*-squares, and "GCCI," II, 133, with 561 as against 560. This dif-

[16] The text "BIN," I, 145:1–6 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 32d year) refers to silver ornaments taken(*na-šá-*$^{?}$*a*) from the *pišannu*-garment of Nanā for repairs, but the designation of the ornament is broken.

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ference, if not accidental, could be taken as an indication that the two types of ornaments were applied alternatingly to the fabric, just as similar differences in figures are recorded in the Amarna inventories with regard to the number of beads used for necklaces (cf., e.g., Knudtzon, "VAB," II, 25, II:33, 35, 41, 43, 46, 50, 54, etc.).

Something must still be said with regard to the type of garments upon which these bracteates[17] were attached, although a discussion of these terms does not fall within the scope of this article. The quoted texts contain the designations *têdiqu(m)*, *muṣîptum*, *pišannu*, and *kusîtu* (túg.BAR.DÍB).

The garment *têdiqu* is often mentioned in religious texts, in the historical inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian period, and in the syllabaries. The word evidently designates a ceremonial piece of apparel belonging to the wardrobe of the gods and kings. Its connection with the verb *edēqum* IV demonstrates that it was girt around the waist (cf. the phrase *na-an-di-qa kak-ki-ku-nu* in the Irra epic "KAR," 168, I:6).

The garment *muṣîptu* (pl. *muṣîpētum*)[18] is frequently mentioned in Neo-Babylonian documents. These occurrences can be divided into two groups. The legal texts refer to *muṣîptu* as the typical (or principal) piece of apparel for workers and slaves, very often furnished to them by their employers or owners, respectively (cf. my *Material Culture*, index *s.v.*). In such passages, as, e.g., Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 65:17, Clay, "BE," VIII/1, 106:13, Boehl, *Mededeelingen*, p. 53:10, the phrase kurum.ḫi.a *u mu-ṣip-tum* requires the translation "board and clothing," while *udê u muṣîptu* (e.g., in Strassmaier, *Nbk*, 431:1, Strassmaier, *Liverpool*, 32:9, etc.) means "tools/utensils and clothing." In the above-quoted texts, however, and in others coming from the offices of the temple administration, *mu-*

[17] The text Lutz, *Univ. of Cal. Pub. in Sem. Phil.*, IX/1, No. 53:1–2 (incomplete date) refers to a decorated miter: "10⅔ shekels of gold [the weight of] 30 *ar-za-la-nu* for/from the 'curved miter' [aga.tùn i.e. *agû pāšu*, according to the VIth tabl. ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu*, Zimmern, *MAOG*, IV, 266, l. 228] of the god Zababa." The word *arzallu* denotes either a stone (na$_4$.sikil.la) or a plant of the pharmacopeia (ú.sikil.la); in the present context, however, it refers to a golden ornament for the decoration of a divine headgear. The passage Dougherty, "GCCI," II, 261:4–6 (incomplete date) contains the name of another gold ornament of such a miter: 36 *šu-la-pu* guškin *šá qít-lup ku-r[u]-r[i] ḫi-it-ti šá* aga ^{d}*Uruk*^{ki}*-i-ti*, "36 *šul(a)pu* of gold from the coating(?) of the *kurūru* of the crest(?) of the miter (belonging to) the Urukean (Ishtar)."

The word *šulapu* is difficult to determine. It could be connected (1) with a word *šulpu* mentioned in a list of synonymous expressions: von Soden, "LTBA," II, No. 1, XIII:87–88, to which Dr. Geers has drawn my attention, *ni-iṣ-bit-tu* ("finger" from *ṣ.b.*^{2}4) = *ú-ba-nu* (same), *šul-pu* = *ditto* (i.e., *ubānu*); (2) with a word *šulpu* mentioned in the Assyrian ritual Harper *ABL*, 977: rev. 8 (15 *šul-pu* of silver and 7 ŠE of gold, for the latter cf. Ebeling, "KAR," 227:13, *Tod und Leben*, I, 125) and in a group of Neo-Babylonian tablets listing sacred utensils required for the *šalam bîti* ritual (*14 lìb-bi-e* guškin *14 šu-la-pu* guškin, "14 golden hearts, 14 golden *šulapu*"): Dougherty, "YOS," VI, 189:17–18, 192:15–16, Tremayne, "YOS," VII, 185:17–18; and (3) with a word *šulpu* denoting, very likely, a container: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.*, *AO*, 6465:rev. 4–5 (pp. 72 and 91) mentions this *šulpu* beside the *mê*^{meš} *qâtē*^{II}, the "hand basin"; and so does Strassmaier, *Dar*, 373:9 *šul-pu*(!) *šá me-e qâtē*^{II} (made of silver), while Falkenstein, *LKTU*, 51:rev. 5, has an earthen *šulpu*. It is possible that *šulpu* No. 1 denotes a handle, lug, or the like and that *šulpu* No. 3 refers to a container named, *pars pro toto*, after this characteristic part. *Šulpu* No. 2 could refer to some "finger"-shaped object required for ritual purposes. The fact, however, that our *šulpu* appears as designation of a golden ornament seems to suggest that the attested meaning "stalk" is more likely to fit No. 2. We would therefore have only two words: (*a*) stalk (ornament and object used in rituals) and (*b*) handle, lug (and container with such a handle). The description of a ritual in the text Br.M. 35382 (S. Smith, *BHT*, Pl. XIV and p. 114), III:26 seems to contain the same word: *ina šu-lu-pu uš-bi-nim-ma* if one is allowed to translate "they made the (ritual) weaving-motion (for *ba*^{2}*û* III/II cf. F. K. Mueller, "MVAeG," XLI/3, p. 83) with the *šulupu*."

For *šulpu* denoting a container used by the barber, cf. *RA*, XIII, pp. 190 f. K 2055 III:30 sû = *ditto* (= *šul-pu*) *šá* ^{lú}ŠU.I.

[18] The etymology for *muṣîptum* proposed by Ungnad, *Glossar*, p. 96 (*ṣu*^{2}*upu*, "to cover"; but cf. Weidner, *AJSL*, XXXVIII, 193), is mentioned here only for the sake of completeness. The nature of the sibilant remains obscure.

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ṣîptu refers to a garment used exclusively for the clothing of the images of goddesses. This twofold use seems to suggest that the garment was of a primitive type worn by the lowest strata of the population as well as used for cultic purposes which reflected the mores of the past.

In contradistinction to the *muṣîptu*, the garment *pišannu* was reserved—in the Neo-Babylonian period—exclusively for the clothing of images. It is often made of linen, but dyed wool (*tabarru* in Strassmaier, *Nbn*, 1029:7, Ungnad, "VS," VI, 107:5, *takiltu* in Strassmaier, *Camb*, 158: 5–6, Ungnad, "VS," VI, 77:1–2, 5) is used for its decoration.

The garment written with the logogram t ú g . BAR.DÍB is to be read *kusîtu* (cf. the XIXth tablet ḪAR . r a = *ḫubullu* Sm 13 in V *R*, Pl. 14 II:37). Two of our texts ("YOS," VI, 117 and "BIN," II, 145) describe this piece of apparel as being decorated with golden appliqués, while the documents of earlier periods—Old Akkadian, Cappadocian texts, those from Nuzi and Amarna—attest to its secular use. Toward the end of the first millennium B.C., however, the *kusîtu*-garment shifted from secular to ceremonial use. From then on, gods, kings, and priests are clad in it. Cf. Goetze's remarks in *JCS*, I, 177 ff.: "The priestly dress of the Hittite king" (sub 1 TÚG *kušišu*) and the evidence of the Neo-Babylonian material which restricts the use of the *kusîtu* to female deities. The Neo-Assyrian texts refer to the *kušîtu* as to the exclusive royal dress—as can be seen from the letters Harper, *ABL*, 511 and 870. The latter offers strong evidence that this piece of apparel was actually one of the essential paraphernalia of Assyrian kingship. Cf. the lines 7–10 of this well-known letter addressed to Esarhaddon after his decision to divide the realm became known: d u m u - ka *ku-ši-tu-≪tu≫ tar-ta-kas šarrūtu*ú-tú *ša* mat*Aššur ina pa-ni-šú tu-us-sa-ad-gi-il*, "you have girt your son with the *kušîtu*[19] and (thus) you have endowed him with the kingship over Assyria." The donning of the *kušîtu* clearly corresponds here to the *immantatio* in the medieval terminology, where the *mantum* was considered an essential royal insigne.

The passage just quoted uses the verb *rakāsu*, "to bind, gird," in connection with *kusîtu*, which, together with the fact that the word *kusîtu* itself is derived from *kasû*, "to bind,"[20] puts this garment in the same class as *têdiqu* (cf. above pp. 172–3). And, indeed, the characteristic garment of the Neo-Assyrian king is a bound mantle, depicted on numerous reliefs, covered with rows of disks or rosettes in varying arrangements. For a more detailed discussion of the evidence concerning the material (mostly colored wool) and the designations of the different parts of the *kusîtu*-garment, as well as of the relation between the logogram t ú g BAR.DÍB and the group TÚG . (n í g) . í b . l á , m ú = r u b . í b . l á and í b . l á . AD, I have to refer again to my *Material Culture*.

As to the use of the *kusîtu* in Babylonia, I would like to point out the fact that the Neo-Babylonian texts show that the gold-studded garments of the goddesses, termed *kusîtu*, have been "lent" by the great sanctuaries to the images of deities residing in temples of lesser importance. This was probably done in order to enhance the power, prestige, and magic effectiveness of these images and to increase, at the same time, the revenues of the main sanctuary.[21]

[19] If the second "*tu*" is not to be eliminated as a dittography, one has to interpret the word *kuštūtu* as an abstract formation, "status of wearing the *kušîtu*," which is rather difficult.

[20] It should be noted that the texts from Amarna and Nuzi render this "*s*" by "*š*," cf. Knutzon, "VAB," II, 34:23, *ku-ši-ti;* Pfeiffer, "HSS," IX, 3:4, *ku-ša-ti*. The Neo-Assyrian passage, too, has *kušîtu* for *kusîtu*.

[21] These sacred vestments were transported on the so-called iš*elippu ša kusîtu*, "ship of the *kusîtu*-gar-

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Summing up the philological evidence here presented concerning the "golden garments" of Mesopotamia, one can state that the technique of decorating the surface of certain garments (or parts thereof) by means of sewed-on or otherwise applied small golden bracteates is well attested in Babylonian documents of the seventh century B.C. and is sporadically referred to in the Assyrian sources of the preceding century. Apart from this evidence, I have quoted two isolated references to "golden garments" of images, one in a date-formula from Eshnunna (Isin-Larsa period) and another in a (probably apocryphal) royal inscription of a Kassite ruler. Finally, a tablet of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur has been mentioned which seems to suggest that ring-shaped golden bracteates were already used for probably the same purpose at that time in Babylonia. The ornaments applied upon these garments are described as rosettes, stars, disks, rings, or referred to with words denoting plants or parts of them. One term indicated the use of animal forms, while another (*tenšia*) could not be identified with certainty. Nearly all these ornaments are said to be of gold, manufactured by goldsmiths, and are attached to fabrics (or leather-coated objects) from which they could be removed for repair, cleaning, and polishing. Their individual weight is light ($\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel), but the garments thus spangled were certainly quite impressive in their value and sparkling appearance. The use of such "golden garments" definitely seems to have been restricted to the cultic and royal wardrobe, the former being attested exclusively for Babylonia, the latter for Assyria.

An excerpt from some ritual text quoted by a learned Babylonian astrologer should be cited here because it contains the very word with which the star-spangled vestments of the Mesopotamian images were denoted in Akkadian. In R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers on Niniveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (London, 1900), No. 151: rev. 7–10, can be read: "The 16th (and) 17th day (of the month Kislimu) a bull shall be 'prepared' (*i-tar-raaṣ*) before the god Nabû, the bull shall be slaughtered [. . .] before Nabû, the 18th day he (the god) shall be clad in the AN.MA, the night of the 19th day (is) the *kinūnu*-ceremony." The logogram AN.MA has the reading *nalbaš šamê*, "garment of the sky," which has been discussed by E. F. Weidner in his article "Das Himmelskleid" in *AfO*, VII, 115 (with previous

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ment" (against "Schiff mit Persenningen," A. Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge*, p. 48), the movements and activities of which are rather frequently turning up in documents coming from Uruk. The income derived from this source was termed *irbi ša* ^{iš}*elippi ša* ^{subat}*kuṣîti*. The interesting text Dougherty, "YOS," VI, 71 (= 72), first translated by Dougherty in his *Nabonidus and Beshazzar* ("YOR," Vol. XV), pp. 125 f., reports on repeated royal attempts to induce the priesthood of Eanna to send the *kuṣîtu* to a rival sanctuary which the collegium refused. Here is my translation:

"N. the *rêš šarri*, the (official) in charge of the temple Eanna spoke as follows to . . . (list of 16 persons) the inhabitants of Babylon, of Uruk, the elders, those who have the right to enter the temple, the (priestly) collegium of Eanna: 'The crown prince has sent the following (written) inquiry: "These two *kuṣîtu*-garments of which they said that they will take them down from (the image of) Nanâ of Ezida and (that) they will give them to the 'Lady-of-Uruk' and the Nanâ, although they took (them) actually down, you are giving (only) one of them to the 'Lady' who dwells in Uruk and one you are holding back. Why are you holding (it) back?" Do send me an exact report in writing that I may immediately send (answer) to the crown prince!' The inhabitants of Babylon and of Uruk, the elders, those who have the right to enter the temple, the (priestly) collegium of Eanna, answered (lit.: said) as follows: 'There has never been any sending of the *kuṣîtu* from Eanna to the town Bêltia but once in the time of Nebukadnezzar: Êṭir-Marduk, the overseer of the temples gave it and on account of this a *ṭi-ir-du* (= "riot"? cf. "YOS," VII, 97:9) occurred/happened. Nebukadnezzar heard (about this) and held it (the *kuṣîtu*) back. (Again) in the time of Neriglissar they were once to be given (but) Neriglissar heard (about this) and held it (the *kuṣîtu*) back. And (finally) in the first year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, when the inhabitants of the town Bêltia spoke in Larsa with the king, our lord, he refused (?) (*iddi-ru*) (it) to the man who spoke to him and the king, our lord, did not order as follows: "Give (them)!" ' (Name of the scribe, date)."

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literature); it has been connected with the star-spangled dress of the late Assyrian kings by M. Wolff and D. Opitz in *AfO*, X, 318, n. 5. In the quoted context, however, the term AN.MA (*nalbaš šamê*) is more likely to refer to the vestment of the image of Nabû, decorated with stars sewed on (cf. n. 26).

When turning, now, to the archeological evidence, consisting mainly, but not solely, of the information contained in representations of images or kings, on reliefs, murals, cylinder seals, etc., we meet not only a welcome corroboration and amplification of the philological evidence collected above but also new and rather complex problems. The present study, being chiefly concerned with a chapter of Akkadian lexicography, does not purport to investigate completely and systematically the background and the history of the "golden garments" in Mesopotamian archeology and technology. The following pages as well as the illustrations added to the present article (cf. pp. 182 ff.) are meant only to direct the attention of the scholar to the following aspects to be considered in such an investigation:

First, to the chronology and the spread of the specific type of textile decoration which will be outlined here; then to its technological background; and, finally, to the ideological implications connected with the motives utilized in this technique.

The representations of divine and human beings clad in garments which are decorated by means of golden rosettes or similar small golden ornaments sewed on extend over a considerably wider range in time and area than is covered by the philological evidence contained in the first part of this study. In fact, such representations already appear in the twelfth century B.C. in both Assyria and Babylonia and maintain themselves in the iconography of Mesopotamia until the Achaemenian period (cf. Fig. 5)). Geographically, they cover Armenia (probably under Assyrian influence, cf. Figs. 12 and 24), Asia Minor (cf. Fig. 1) as well as Elam (Fig. 5).

To substantiate these assertions, reference has to be made to the following representations which show the use of golden rosettes as a means of decoration, spreading gradually from studdings on the "feather-crown" so typical for the divine headgear in the Kassite period to the ornamented border-strips of garments (with or without the older decoration of fringes). Eventually these rosettes cover the entire garment, first sparsely and scattered, then increasing in number (but diminishing in individual size), while their arrangement attains more and more regularity. Special attention should be given to the fact that this new fashion of decoration is applied to both the inner and the outer garments of deities and kings.

The earliest examples are contained on the twelfth-century cylinder seal discussed by Edith Porada in her article, "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals" (*Orientalia*, N.S., XVI, 148 ff.), as No. 1 and on the seal published in her *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, Vol. I (New York, 1948), as No. 606. They illustrate the first stages in the use of golden rosettes: the decoration of tiaras and borders of garments. The goddess on the *kudurru* of Nebuchadnezzar I (Fig. 13) of the twelfth century shows the next stage: the rosettes, still widely spaced and rather large, appear on the upper part of her garment, while she is still wearing the flounced skirt characteristic of the divine attire up to the Kassite period. On the roughly contemporaneous representation of the god Mar-

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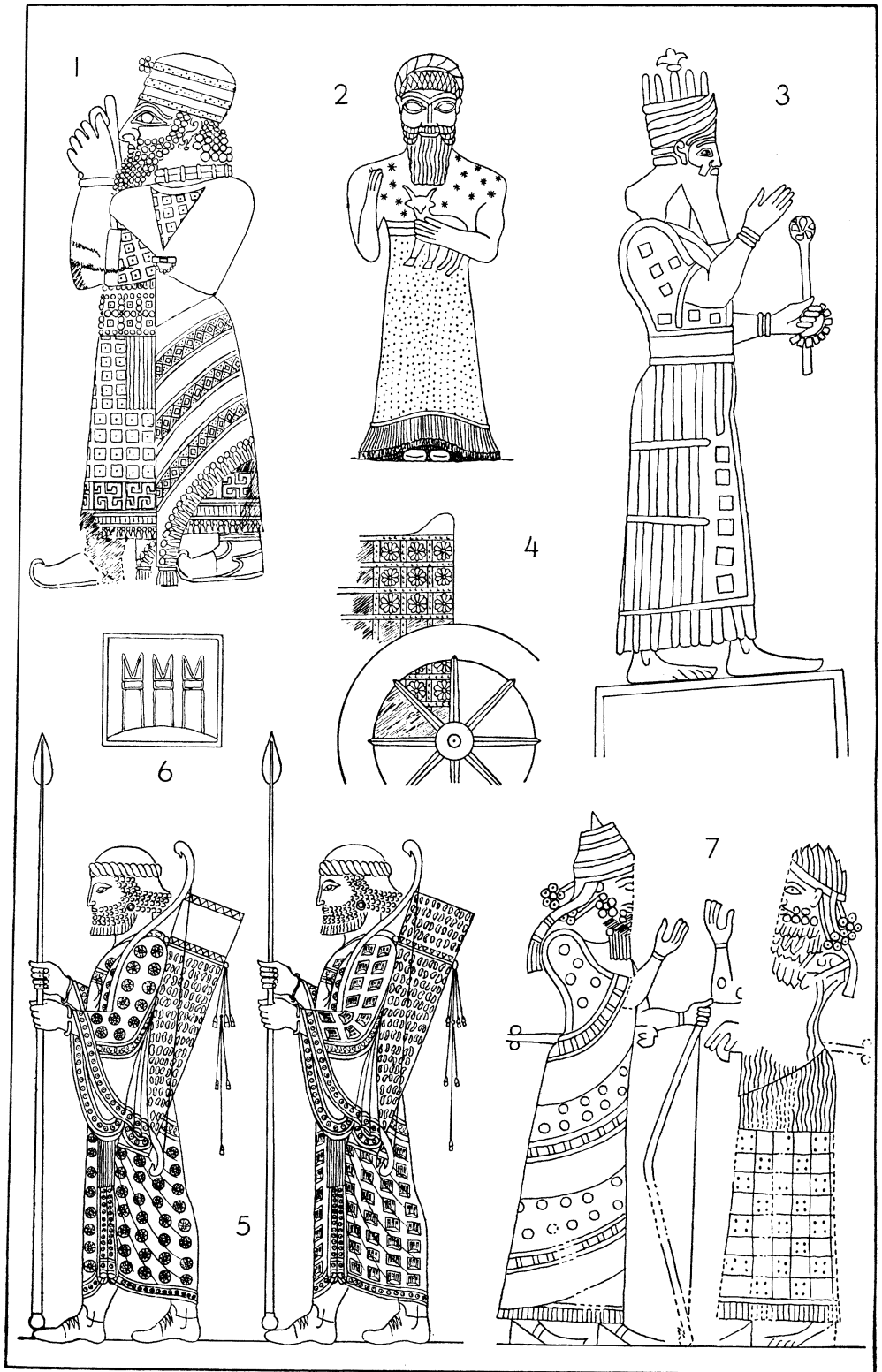

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FIGS. 1–7

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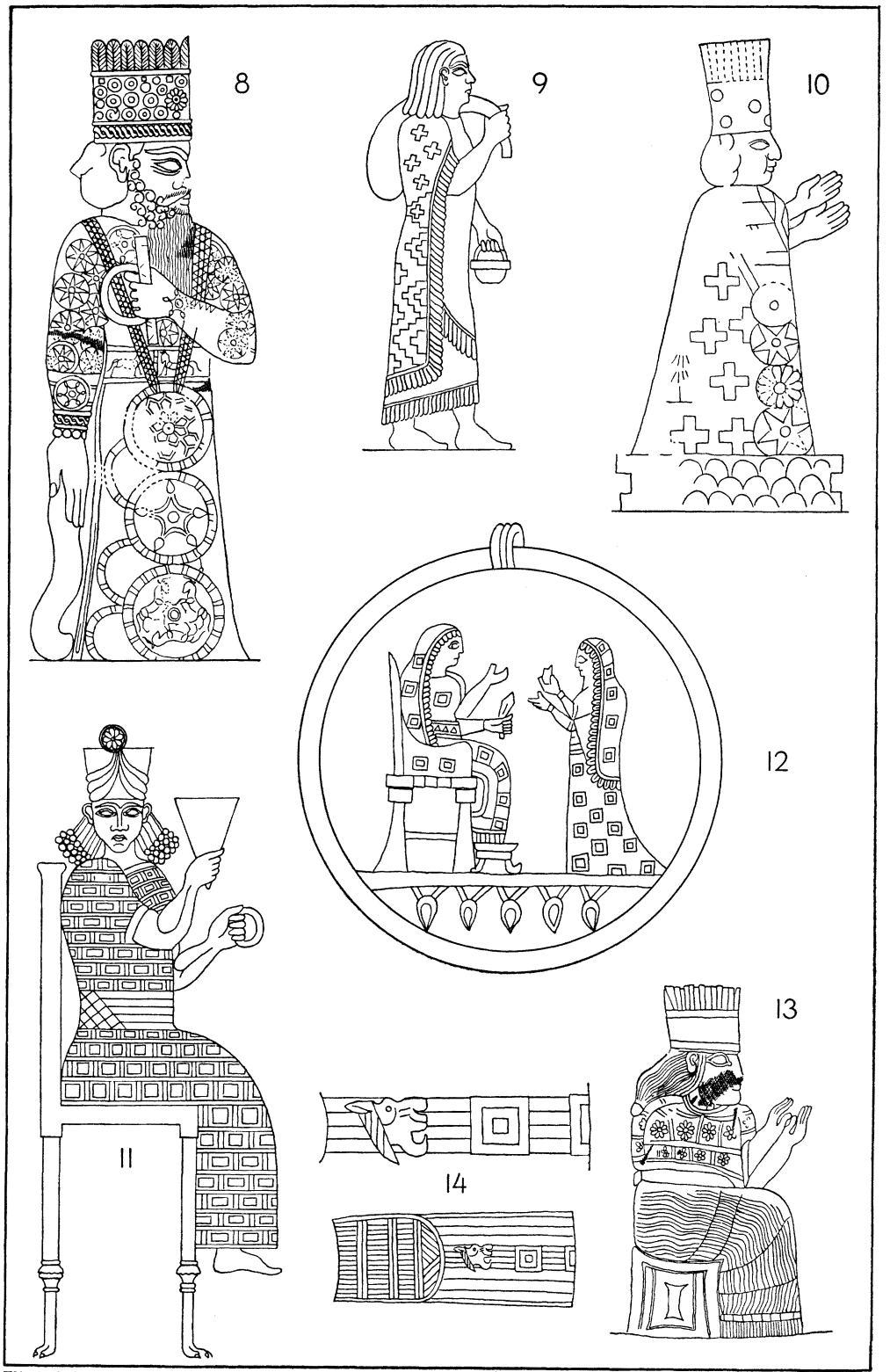

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FIGS. 8–14

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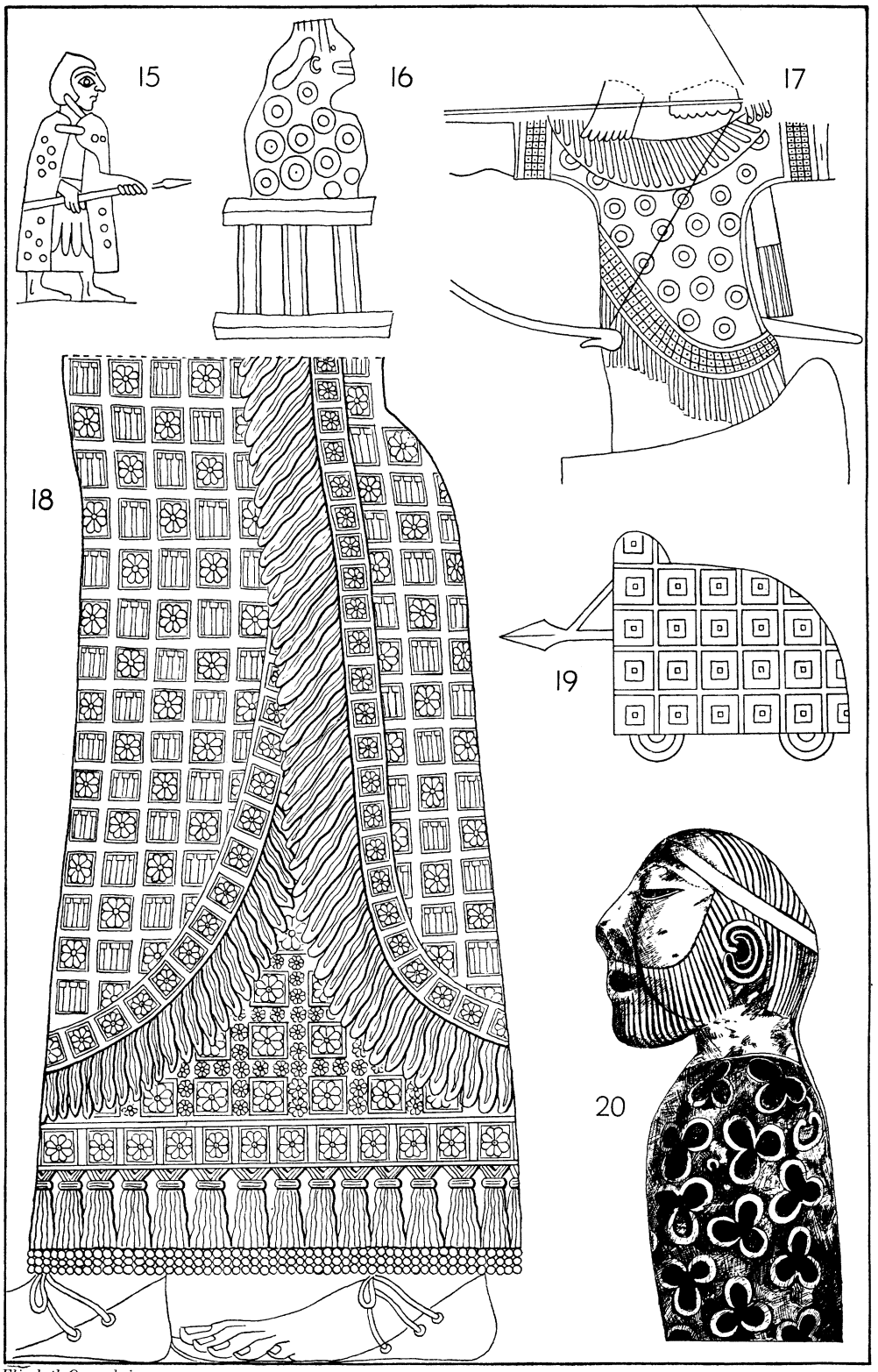

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FIGS. 15–20

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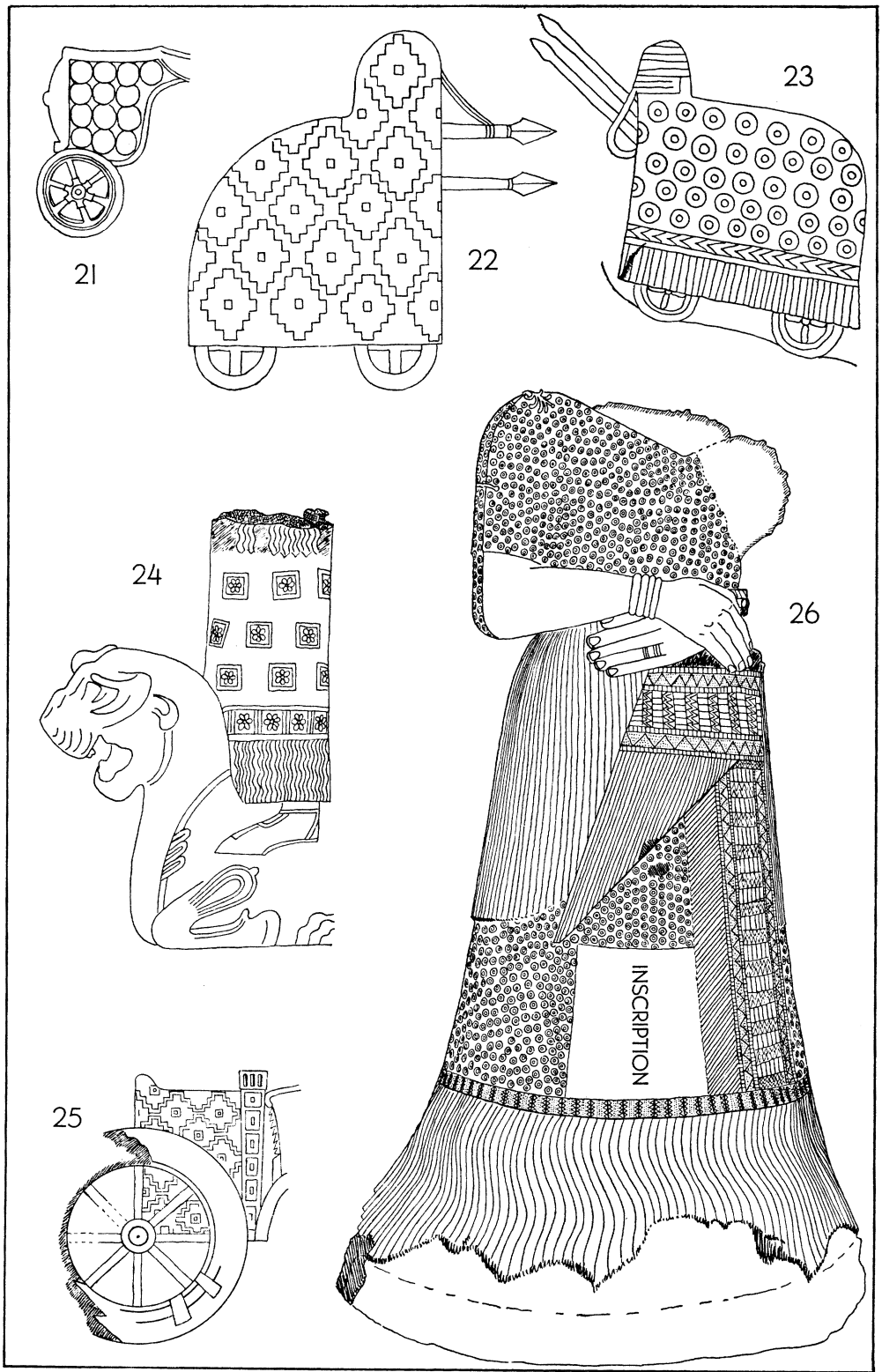

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FIGS. 21–26

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duk (cf. Fig. 8) appear large stars instead of rosettes, which densely cover the garment over the upper part of his body (including the arms) and, perhaps, even the skirt, which is badly damaged on the original lapis lazuli staff. The tiara of the god is decorated with an elaborate *aiar pâni* (cf. above, p. 173, n. 4) as well as with characteristic disklike rings and small square cuts. The latter two types of bracteates make here their first appearance in Babylonia. The badly damaged half-figure of a goddess (probably Gula) from an anepigraphic *kudurru* found in Susa (Fig. 16) evidences the use of these "rings" as appliqués on garments.

Rosettes and square cuts of gold sewed on garments of gods enter the stage of Assyrian iconography in the ninth and eighth centuries. Rosettes in different sizes scattered irregularly over the garment can be seen in Andrae, *Colored Ceramic from Assur*, Pls. 7, 8, and 9/*h;* square cuts in a similar arrangement on Figure 3 of this article. Mention should also be made of a relief representing various images being carried off by conquering Assyrian soldiers (cf., for an example, Fig. 11) with the garments of the images covered with horizontal rows of rectangles.[22]

Royal garments characterized by narrow and regular rows of gold appliqués, mostly rosettes (with varying numbers of petals, sometimes with doubled circles of petals, etc.) and squares in various arrangements, often alternating, only appear in the times of the Sargonides. Outer and inner garments differ at times; borders are usually set off by a special decorative pattern made up by one or more rows of bracteates—as a rule, rosettes and squares. These squares, however, pose a special problem. In most cases they are shown as empty, but some are provided with two concentric inscribed squares; rarely they have concentric circles within the innermost square. Only the large squares of the elaborately decorated royal robe in Figure 18 present an interesting deviation, inasmuch as they are provided with a specific design: the walls of a fortress with three (perhaps crenelated) towers. The same motive, if also slightly varied, appears on the squares which cover the garment of one of the "archers" from Susa (cf. Figs. 5 and, for the design, 6). As already stated (p. 175), it is possible that the available publications of the Assyrian reliefs (in drawings as well as in photographs) fail to render designs on apparently empty squares. Quite likely other motives, too, were originally engraved (or painted) upon the stones of these reliefs which, if extant, could perhaps furnish the archeological illustrations for the various designations of such bracteates occurring in the cuneiform texts. Only an investigation of the originals could shed some light on this problem.[23]

Going through the pages of the pertinent publications of Botta and Flandin, of Layard, Patterson, and Hull, one can easily study the numerous variations in distribution, form, and arrangement of the bracteates and observe that the trend distinctly leads toward the impressive simplicity of the royal dress of Assurbanipal with its evenly distributed golden rosettes or stars, all of the same size.[24] The

[22] The source from which this drawing is taken does not offer an adequate rendering of the pattern of this decoration. Cf. the photographic reproduction in *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (London, 1938), Pl. X, lower register.

[23] In the reliefs of the time of Tiglathpileser III (Nimrud), these squares are provided with concentric (embossed?) rings in the center, as can clearly be seen on the photographs on Pls. VII and XVIII of *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*. For an extant bracteate of this type cf. p. 188.

[24] A differentiation within the category "royal garments" is expressed in the famous "garden-scene," where Assurbanipal is represented wearing his rosette-spangled royal robe, while his consort, crowned with the crenelated crown, is clad in a garment covered densely with disks.

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dress of the archers from Susa (cf. Fig. 5) demonstrates that this arrangement was considered final and accepted outside of Mesopotamia proper.

Having thus extended the chronological limits of this investigation from the eighth to the twelfth century B.C. by shifting from the philological to the archeological evidence, we may turn to Susa, on the periphery of the orbit of Mesopotamian civilization. There the magnificently decorated metal statue of the queen Napir-asu (to which Mr. P. Delougaz of the Oriental Institute has kindly drawn my attention) enables us to move these limits back by nearly two more centuries. The rich garment of the queen (Fig. 26) is spangled with a large number of small metal rings or rather perforated disks sewed onto it in narrow rows, thus yielding the oldest direct evidence for the technique of textile decoration studied in this article. Still older, however, are the small (about 6 cm.) golden statuettes of bearded men carrying offerings, found in Susa (Fig. 2). They are clad in a fringed skirt reaching to the ground,[25] a skirt which is densely covered with engraved dots which may well represent the type of decoration found later on the garment of Napir-asu. Owing to the small size of the object, the artist was compelled to reduce the disks to dots. A corroboration for this interpretation is offered by another statuette of the same type and the same provenience. It is somewhat larger (about 11 cm.) and of bronze (cf. R. de Mecquenem, *Offrandes de fondation du temple de Chouchinak*, "DP," Vol. VII (Paris, 1905), Pl. XV, Nos. 1–3 and p. 73) and shows a similar garment sparsely covered with shallow circular holes ("points en creux") which clearly are intended to render a fabric spangled with metal appliqués. These small statues attest thus—indirectly as it were, but with a great degree of probability—the technique of appliqué work for the middle of the second millennium B.C. for Susa. And we are probably entitled to assume that these figurines illustrate the nature of the "golden garment" dedicated to the god Tishpak in Eshnunna (cf. p. 172).

Before concluding my remarks on the chronology of the textile decoration studied here, I should like to enumerate some of the ornaments which have actually been excavated in the Near East or have otherwise survived. I cannot claim in any way to cover all the material hidden away

[25] The stars incised upon the bare chest and upper arms are difficult to interpret, especially since the representation is certainly not that of a cosmic deity, comparable, e.g., with the Egyptian sky-goddess, Neit, often shown in her starred nakedness. The few Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic statuettes of animals with inlaid stars offer the only parallel in Mesopotamian art. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to adduce here, as a stylistic parallel development only, certain conventionalized interpretations of hairtufts or curls of a fleece as stars or rosettes like those occurring on Egyptian monuments. Cf. the ceremonial leopard skin with sewed-on (metal) stars on a mural of the 19th Dynasty (see Fig. 47 of Elizabeth Riefstahl, *Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt*); the star-covered skin of such an animal on the wooden statue in G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples d'Orient*, I (Paris, 1895), 55; and, finally, such a fleece covered densely with rosettes on a statue (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) in Georges Legrain, *Catalogue général ... du Musée du Caire* (Le Caire, 1914), Vol. LXXI, Pl. XLVIII, No. 42241. Note in this context the pertinent material compiled and studied by Helene J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions," *JNES*, VI, 252 ff. and esp. n. 28.

Seen from this point of view, the stars on our gold statuette could be considered the result of a stylization which transformed the hair on the chest into a star-ornament comparable perhaps with the Hittite "curl-pattern" by which the artist represented the hairy chest of the king on the "Royal Gate" in Boğazköy. Here again a parallel, this time from literary imagery, may be adduced: the term *nalbaš šamê* (cf. above, p. 180) denotes, on the one hand, the star-spangled sky and, on the other, the cloud-covered sky (identified with *ur-pi-ti*, "clouds"; cf. Meissner, *BA Wb*, I, 58). The latter is clearly likened to a fleece when the north wind is spoken of, in *Maqlû* V:85 (G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, *AfO*, Beiheft 2 [Berlin, 1937], p. 37), as the *gallāb šamê*, "the shearer of the sky," i.e., he who cuts off the fleecy clouds. Clouds and stars are thus placed in a relationship which is difficult for us to appreciate and to grasp, which, however, on a different level of artistic expression, is patently paralleled by the comparative ease with which stars or rosettes are seen in hair whirls.

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in numerous and bulky archeological publications and in the basements of many museums, but even the following enumeration, as incomplete as it is, offers interesting illustrations to our topic. See, first, the thin golden rosettes found in Tepe Gawra (XIIth stratum, Uruk Period), published, without any indication as to size, number, etc., in *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935), pp. 1 and 7. They have four small holes (arranged approximately in a rectangle) near the center and were therefore obviously destined to be sewed onto some fabric. From Nuzi come thin bronze squares (cf. R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* [Cambridge, 1939], Vol. II, Pl. 127/1) with embossed(?) inscribed circle and four holes in the corners. They could very well illustrate the appliqué decoration on the garment shown in Figure 7 (person to the right). Somewhat later have to be dated the golden five-petaled rosettes (better: blossoms) found at Megiddo. They have four small holes around the center and are published by Gordon Loud, *Megiddo*, II ("OIP," Vol. LXII [Chicago, 1948]), Pl. 224. Nos. 22–24. Last but not least, I may refer, with the kind permission of Mr. P. Delougaz, to a still unpublished Achaemenian "treasure" in the museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, consisting of a series of gold ornaments to be sewed onto garments by means of small rings soldered to their back.[26] Among them is a group of small lion heads with gaping mouths and menacing teeth. They resemble to an astonishing degree the lion head sewed onto the girdle of a divine being (cf. Fig. 14) together with small squares. The technical term for this ornament is UR.GU.LA as discussed on page 177. This is one of the very rare cases in which one is able to co-ordinate not only the "word" and the "object" but also an illustration showing the use of this object.

Since the gold rosettes from Tepe Gawra have taken us as far back as the third millennium, I may be allowed to quote—with all due reservations and without the pretension to establish a direct correlation—the small stone statue of a man, found in Mohenjo Daro (Fig. 20). His garment is covered with trifoils, etc., which from the point of view of the present study could be interpreted as representing some kind of appliqué work of metal or cut-out materials of contrasting texture and/or color to decorate a monochrome garment.

Technologically speaking, the appliqué work making use of metal bracteates can be characterized as a superstructural surface decoration of a fabric,[27] a technique well known from other civilizations. Besides bracteates of metal plate, beads and colorful feathers were used to interrupt the monotony of monochrome fabrics by creating a pleasing (or meaningful) color pattern on them. For references concerning these techniques, cf. simply Elizabeth Riefstahl, *Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), pp. 41 ff. They quite naturally take the place of pattern-weaving in a civilization which has not yet reached this stage of development in the realm of the technology of textiles, exactly as do the various methods of embroidery work and patchwork techniques which make use of cuttings of materials in contrasting colors to be stitched together. It is extremely difficult to study the Mesopotamian evidence for all these techniques, mainly because no investigation has ever been undertaken to establish the

[26] Of technological interest is the fact that the use of such rings instead of holes or shanks (as on some of the scales of the armor found in Nuzi) brings up to three the methods of fastening metal bracteates to their textile or leather base.

[27] Structural surface decorations are, e.g., looped and piled fabrics known in Mesopotamia since a very early period but very rarely attested in Egypt (cf. Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, Fig. 33). Also beads strung on warp or weft belong in this category.

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different stylistic conventions adopted by the artists, at specific periods as well as in specific regions, to reproduce the textures and the appearances of the manifold fabrics of the garments, covers, etc., shown on figures in the round, on reliefs, murals, and seals, respectively. Such a study is bound to yield interesting and far-reaching results which one would have to co-ordinate with the evidence coming from the cuneiform literature.

The use of beads as surface decoration of the most expensive garments is sparsely attested in texts.[28] Still rarer is the evidence to be gathered from the archeological material. The use of patchwork techniques on garments and covers is difficult to prove on the basis of the extant monuments, though the not too rare occurrences of a honeycomb pattern on fabrics suggest this interpretation.

The use of embroidery is well attested in representations of the divine and royal dress of the ninth and eighth centuries. In order to anticipate the argument that the decoration technique interpreted in this article as metal-appliqué work could be considered as being embroidery, I may point here to the basic differences between these two types of decoration. The embroideries show a free flow of lines, a characteristic unilinear ductus, and a complex interplay of an over-all symmetry against the symmetry in details; they make use of a rich inventory of iconographic motives, which they spread in a harmonious arrangement following the requirements of the space at the disposal of the artist. This contrasts in every respect with the character of the decoration produced by bracteates with their very restricted number of individual motives, repeated without deviation and without linear connection all over the fabric, achieving variety solely by the sequence and the arrangement of the individual, unchanging units, each of which covers a minimum of surface. It is, of course, conceivable that these metal appliqués were imitated, at times, in embroidery, and I am inclined to think that this was actually the case with the decoration on the soft, rippling textile of which the wrap of the Susian archers (cf. Fig. 5) was made.

It has to be kept in mind, however, that the use of gold thread[29] is an indispensable prerequisite for effectual and expensive embroidery work and that the introduction of such thread into the textile technology of the ancient Near East occurred very late and constituted a major revolution. It was then not only used for embroidery but also for weaving, cf. Pliny *Natural History* viii. 76. 196: *aurum intexere in eadem Asia invenit Attalus rex.* The "golden garments" of the last centuries of the first millennium and later

[28] Such beads are mentioned in the above-quoted passage from the inscription of Nabonidus (cf. pp. 172–3) and likewise in the already adduced Agum-kakrime text, which enumerates in Col. II:36–41 a number of beads made of precious stones (l. 42: *ša kul-šu na-as-qu*) with which the king decorated the surface of the divine attire (ll. 46–49): *mu-uḫ-ḫi lu-bu-uš-ti i-lu-ti-šú-nu ra-bi-tim lu-ú-ṣa-ʾi-i-nu-ma.*

The names of two garments are to be mentioned in this context: *illuku* (for a Sem. etymology cf. Holma, *ZA*, XXVIII, 150 f., but the word is more likely to be a loan from the Sumerian mulug written mul.ug in "CT," XIV, Pl. 3, II:10, mu.lu.ug in Chiera, "OIP," XI, 179, I:31 [communication of Dr. Geers]) and *egizaggû*. Both appear in the list of synonymous expressions "CT," XVIII, Pl. 12:67–69 (K 169) in the following context: *me-lam-mu-ú = il-lu-ku, e-gi-zag-gu-ú = ditto, el-lu-ku = su-du-rum.* These terms probably denote sumptuous garments (perhaps even for royal and cultic use as indicated by the word *melammû*). The fact that the commentary series ĝar.gud ("CT," XIV, Pl. 3, II:10) quotes (from ĝar.ra = *ḫubullu*, XVIth tablet) naĝ.mul.ug = *il-lu-ku* = [. . .] indicates that the *illuku* garment was provided with a decoration of beads. In the passage Haupt, *ASKT*, No. 21 (p. 127), ll. 39–40, the word *igizangû* (Sum.: e.gi.zag.ga) appears with the determinative "stone," thus corroborating the interpretation of these names of garments as referring to beaded pieces of apparel.

[29] For the technical problems involved in the use of metal threads cf. the remarks in H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen und Römern* (2d ed.; Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), pp. 168 ff.

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were woven of such golden filaments or richly embroidered with gilt threads.

The nearest technological parallel to the decoration by means of golden bracteates is offered by the well-known scale-armor which appears in the ancient Near East during the middle of the second millennium; cf., for Egypt, Elizabeth Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 91 and Fig. 42; for Mesopotamia, R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, I, 475 ff., Vol. II, Pl. 126. It consists, as a rule, of rows of overlapping bronze plates in various oblong forms attached in different ways to a leather base. The numerous references for this type of armor from Assyrian reliefs cannot be enumerated here, nor can the development of the scale-armor in form and usage be studied in this connection. Still, I should like to point out that the cloaks of the warriors on the so-called "standard" of Ur (Fig. 15) show scattered circular borings which do seem to indicate, if only in a rather conventionalized manner, metal disks sewed on for the protection of the soldier. This studded cloak could be interpreted as an early "forerunner" of the later scale-armor, which makes its appearance in Mesopotamian iconography roughly at the same time as the garments decorated with golden bracteates.

A problem of some interest is posed by the battering ram in Figure 23, with a cover on which can be seen the same circular designs appearing, e.g., on the garments shown in Figure 17. They could be taken for large metal disks attached in order to reinforce the usual leather or wickerwork which protect the crew working within the machine from the missiles of the defenders of the city. Against this interpretation militate, however, the ornaments appearing on the two siege-engines in Figures 19 and 22. The first is decorated by rectangles which could perhaps be connected with those appearing on the garments of the deity in Figure 11, and elsewhere alternating with disks or rosettes. The cover over the second battering ram, however, is obviously provided with a decorative pattern without any functional background. It recurs on the garment of an image (Fig. 10), on that of a captive woman (Fig. 9), and is quite frequently to be found on the loin cloth of Assyrian soldiers, especially when it constitutes their only piece of apparel.

The use of these patterned fabrics, that is, of fabrics with circular, rectangular, and "step" designs on the armor of battering rams is paralleled by their recurrence as covers on the boxes of the chariots shown in Figures 21 and 25, and for the use of rosettes (instead of perforated disks) in Figure 4.[30] Although all these ornamental patterns may be traced back to specific technical processes (the squares and disks to sewed-on surface decorations, the "step" design to some kind of basket- or mat-weaving technique), they seem to appear on these warlike machines for other than purely ornamental reasons. The battering rams—invariably shown in full action on the Assyrian reliefs—apparently relied for their protection not only upon the large pieces of leather held together by means of pegs and loops, upon wickerwork screens and wooden shingles, but also upon meaningful designs on these covers. As such a "protective" design appears the "crenelation" pattern, well attested in Mesopotamian iconography for its apotropaic function. In exactly the same function we find it, stylized as "wall and towers," on some of the bracteates (Figs. 6 and 18). The disklike ornaments recur, revealingly enough, painted on the wall of a city (immediately below the battlements) depicted on the relief published in (E. A.

[30] For a chariot decorated with alternating rosettes and squares (with inscribed concentric circles), cf. *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*, Pl. XXIII, lower register.

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Wallis Budge) *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: Reign of Ashur-nasir-pal, B.C. 885–860* (London, 1900), Pl. XII. The apotropaic role of the star design is well known and illustrated, incidentally, in the Classical world by the "starry corslet" of the armor of Achilles (*Iliad* xvi. 134). This also holds true for the rosettes and other plant ornaments as well as for the snarling UR.GU.LA lions discussed above on pages 177 and 188. The function of these designs is in all cases to ward off dangers and evil influences, to inspire awe, and to impress the adversary.

And this leads us to the last topic to be mentioned in these rather cursory remarks concerning the complex background of the decoration technique which has produced the "golden garments" of Mesopotamia. This topic is concerned with the ideological implications. In order to evaluate these correctly, one has to differentiate between the technological aspect, that is, the technique as such, and the form elements which it utilizes. The technique of decorating textiles by means of small metal bracteates which cover their surface, changing them from the monotony of a solid-colored wrap into the sparkling glamor of a "golden garment," seems to have been developed outside of Mesopotamia proper, perhaps in Elam, since the oldest evidence comes from that region. How far the above-described use of the metal-appliqué work is connected with the origin and the development of the scale-armor, which is likewise alien to Mesopotamian technology, cannot be discussed here. When the decoration technique migrated into Mesopotamia (first evidence in the twelfth century), the use of rings or perforated disks gave way to that of iconographic motives native to that region and endowed there with special meaning. Among these motives of old standing in Babylonia as well as Assyria ranks first the rosette (with 6 petals basically), known since the oldest periods for its numinous value. The star (with 8 beams basically) appears due to its apotropaic function and its connection with the cult of the foremost goddess of the Mesopotamian pantheon. The use of the crenelation pattern as well as that of plant and animal motives is clearly suggested by similar reasons. It is worthy of note that the garments decorated in this way were definitely restricted to the wardrobe of the images and of the Assyrian king and that no secular use developed through a skeuomorphic shift by substituting less expensive materials.[31] The use of gold and the specific technique evolved for the decoration of these garments was obviously intimately linked to a specific functional value of the ornaments utilized; they alone have endowed these garments with the aura of sacredness which could not be transferred to other media.

The special character of these sacred vestments as expressed in the specific arrangement as well as in the form of their decorative units did not disappear in the course of time. On the contrary, it was imitated on the pattern-woven textiles of the Sassanian period (cf. A. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* [Berlin, 1920], pp. 124 ff. and Pls. LXII ff.), which occur on the rock monuments of that time with kings in pearl-studded garments and goddesses in star-covered mantles. From Iran this motive migrated to Byzantium to reach various European countries from that new point of diffusion. Apart from this route of migration there was another which led from Mesopotamia through Syria and Egypt into the Mediterranean world. There, fed by the various channels through

[31] In isolated cases only, rosettes and squares appear on the decorated borders of the garments of high court officials and officers. It cannot be stated whether they were of metal or imitated in embroidery. For an exception cf. p. 188.

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which a welter of ancient Near Eastern concepts and individual motives had penetrated, a syncretistic civilization was growing in impetus and spread during the last centuries of the last millennium B.C. The mantle of purple wool as insigne of kingship and the star-spangled attire of the Eastern priest-kings were combined in that region, perhaps under the influence of the classical traditions as reflected in the *stellata velamina* of certain goddesses, the starry *vestis regia* of the Roman imperator, etc.[32] Following the tide of oriental influences, this concept was swept into medieval Europe. The coronation mantles of popes, emperors, and kings bear witness to a development which has been traced with much erudition by Robert Eisler in his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (München, 1910). The techniques have undergone many changes: golden bracteates sewed onto the fabrics, embroidery, and pattern-weaving have carried the tradition from Mesopotamia to Europe; rosettes and stars have given way to lilies and bees, but the basic combination of a design of scattered and invariable units with each unit representing a numinous object has been maintained through nearly four millennia of a development attested in monuments and literary sources.

In concluding this article, I wish to express my thanks to Miss Edith Porada, New York, who has patiently answered my numerous and difficult queries concerning the dating of the archeological material and who has suggested many of the illustrations shown in the four plates. Her mastery of all aspects of Mesopotamian iconography, as well as her truly scholarly grasp of all the problems involved, has been of the greatest assistance to me in this investigation. The responsibility for all views and interpretations expressed in the preceding pages is, of course, mine alone. I have, furthermore, to thank my wife, whose skilful hands made the illustrations.

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SOURCES OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The king Warpalawas (Urballâ) of Tuwana from the rock-relief in Ivriz in the Taurus, pub. by Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914), Pl. XV.

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[32] Cf. especially H. Thiersch, *Ependytes und Ephod* (Stuttgart, 1936).

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22. Siege-engine from Botta and Flandin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. 77, upper register.

23. Siege-engine, pub. in *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (London, 1938), Pl. XIV.

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